## WASHINGTON, D. C.

IMPORTANT DEBATE IN THE SENATE. KOSSUTH AND NON-INTERVENTION.

On Tuesday, Mr. Seward's resolution, proposing a cordial welcome, on behalf of Congress, to Louis Kossuth, of Hungary, was taken up, read a second time, and considered as in Committee of the Whole. After an able speech from Mr. Seward in its support, Mr. Shields of Illinois moved to strike out all after the word Resolved, and insert the following:

"That a committee of three be appointed by the Chair, to wait upon Louis Kossuth, Governor of Hungary, and to introduce him

Mr. Shields disclaimed unfriendliness to th resolution of Mr. Seward, or to that gentle man, but his amendment was, in fact, a tran script of the action of the Senate in the cas of Lafayette; and he thought it preferable.

The Chair decided that the amendment wa not in order, as the resolution of Mr. Seward was a joint resolution, and the amendment simply proposed action by the Senate. After some delay on this point,

Mr. Berrien of Georgia obtained the floor, and addressed the Senate at length, in opposi tion to any action as all by Congress. In ele sing his speech, he moved the following amend ment, demanding the yeas and nays:

"And be it further resolved, That the wel-come thus afforded to Louis Kossuth be extended to his associates who have landed on our shores; but while welcoming these Hungarian patriots to an asylum in our country, and to the protection which our laws do and always will afford to them, it is due to candor to de clare that it is not the purpose of Congress to depart from the settled policy of this Govern-ment, which forbids all interference with the mestic concerns of other nations.

Mr. Hale followed in support of the resolu tion, and against the amendment.

Mr. Soulé rose to explain his own positio and vindicate his course in introducing a similar resolution the other day.

The subject was resumed the next day, when M. Sammer made an eloquent speech in support of the resolution. Mr. Ciemeas or Am-Shields of Illinois, and Mr Stockton of New Jersey, came to its support in well-timed, effective speeches. Mr. Foote exposed, with keen sarcasm, the flimsy authorities on which the Senator from Alabama had relied, in his imputations against Kossuth; and then the Senate

The opposition to any action by Congress designed to honor Kossuth, originates with the slaveholding members-Messrs. Dawson and Berrien of Georgia, Mr. Underwood of Kentucky, Mr. Clemens of Alabama, having already committed themselves openly. Other Senators from the South, together with some Hunker Whig members from the North, sympathize, and will act with them.

Messrs. Seward, Sumner, and Hale, so ob noxious for their Anti-Slavery position, have thus far been the most eloquent advocates o the resolution; but great credit is due to the able and energetic manner in which Messrs. Shields and Stockton, Democratic members from Illinois and New Jersey, and Mr. Foote, Senator from the slave State of Mississippi, have supported it. We make these remarks, that Kossuth, his fellow-exiles, the republicans of Europe, and the liberty-loving People of the United States, may see what is the real source pathy with the Popular Cause in Europe.

We forgot to say in the proper place, that on the first day of the discussion, Mr. Miller of New Jersey, succeeding Mr. Hale, gave the resolution a qualified support, indicating, how ever, a disposition to qualify it with the memorable amendment of Mr. Berrien.

## TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9.

The joint resolution offered by Mr. SEWARD, concerning Louis Kossuth, having been taken up, was read a second time and considered as n Committee of the Whole.

Mr. SEWARD. I have said that I should the first place, simply to the circumstance under which it comes before Congress.

If the distinguished personage whom it is the

design of this resolution to honor had floated upon our shores unbidden and unheralded, there would have been no great embarrassment in suffering his arrival to pass unnoticed by Congress. But the case is widely different. The Congress of the United States found him a prisoner in Asia Minor—an exile from his native land, in an effort for the redemption of which he had failed. They caused the Presi dent of the United States to express to him the sympathy of Congress with him in his exile and misfortunes; and they tendered to him an invitation to come to America as an asylum, in one of the vessels of the public navy. The President of the United States executed these nstructions, and, in pursuance of that, it is known to all the world that Kossuth was libe rated from his captivity, and is now upon our shores. The President of the United States, in anticipation of his arrival, informed Congress, on their assembling at the present session, that he had executed their instructions, and that the arrival of this illustrious man was hourly expected; and he recommended to Congress to take into consideration the proper manner and ceremonial of receiving him who had been brought here under their authority. This of itself was sufficient to engage the attention of the civilized world for the action of Congress in relation to the personage whose name and fame at this time fills the eye and ear of the world. But the action of the Government has not stopped here. In pursuance of its recommendathe Administration, the subject has been opened in this chamber. A debate has been opened construed into indignity. If such should be the result, the consequence would be the inflicting a wound upon the generous and noble heart of friend to liberty, whose gratitude we had point the hopes and expectations of the friends of freedom throughout the world; and, finally, it would have the effect to encourage the advocates of oppression throughout Europe in their efforts to prevent the transition of the nations of Europe from under systems of force to voluntary systems of government, such as we have established and commended to their adoption. Under such circumstances, I was not at liberty states to pass unnoticed; and in order that I such danger in doing a simple act of national might put myself right, and give an opportunity who might agree with me in I think that no man will deny the principle I think that no man will deny the principle. night put myself right, and give an opportu-nity to others who might agree with me in opinion to put themselves right, I have endeavor-that a nation may do for the cause of liberty

would have originally wished. I have no par-ticular tenacity with regard to it The propo-sition submitted by the honorable Sentator from Mississippi, [Mr. Foote,] would have resition submitted by the honorable Sentator from Mississippi, [Mr. Foore,] would have received my vote. It would have received it if it had been amended so as to say more, as was proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire,

and I should have endeavored to co-operate with the honorable mover of it in avoiding any amendments which might embarrass its pas-

sage. But that has passed by; and upon look-ing round upon what might be substituted now for it, it has seemed to me that if there is one sentiment more plainly and unquestionably expressed by the American people than any ther in regard to the Hungarian revolution and in regard to the hero and champion of Hungary, it is that of Welcome to the shores OF THE UNITED STATES. Taking that idea as my guide, I have merely submitted a joint resition, in which Congress declare that the give to Louis Kossuth, whom they have invited ither, a cordial welcome. Less than this, Mr. President, no man can propose who thinks it proper that we should in our action here take any notice whatever of his arrival; and more than this we may well be content to waive, knowing that something like this, or nothing, must pass, and that this is better than nothing. I would have the passage of this resolution

communicated to Kossuth by the President, the Executive organ of the Republic. Although my own feelings desire further expression, I consent to waive it, under the consideration that the simplicity of the act will give it a peculiar power. I know not in the history of this nation a more sublime spectacle—I know not in the history of modern times a more sublime spec-tacle—than would be afforded by hearing the American Congress, in the name and behalf of the American People, give to the representative of the cause of popular government in Europe a cordial welcome, on his escape from the perils of his position and his arrival in this land. where that system of government is established and in full and successful operation. There is a simplicity about it which is worthy the dignity of the American Government and the American People. There is a simplicity in it worthy the character of the illustrious citizen whom it proposes to honor. As I have said, I have no tenacity in regard to this measure in preference to any other, which would make me averse to accepting any other. It seems to me to be preferable to that of the honorable Senato be preferable to that of the honorable Schar tor from Illinois, [Mr. Shields,] upon the ground that, having been adopted here, it will undoubtedly be adopted in the House of Repre-sentatives, and will thus be a national act; and confess I am desirous, as the Congress of the United States did bring or cause Kossuth to be brought here under their authority, that his

o Houses of Congress should not be divided, ette, instead of the three bioles are their lights and were strugging for their lights to maintain these pionts if Lafay ette, instead of the three bioles are of the contest.

This form, also, seems to commend itself | had set himself to the task of searching the ing. This form, also, seems to commend itself to adoption by the Senate, because it stops short of committing Congress to any action beyond the words—beyond the simple national action of giving Kossuth a cordial welcome. What I desire is not the utterance of words : what want to have Congress do is to act-to extend the welcome to Kossuth which the world ex pects him to receive.

Objections have been made, to which I will advert very briefly. It has been said, or intinated, that we are not well aware of the merits of Kossuth-not well acquainted with the character of Kossuth-that we do not know, certainly, that he is entitled to this attention from

the American People.

Mr. President, in the course of human events we see the nations of Europe struggling to throw off the despotic systems of government and attempting to establish a Government based upon the principles of republicanism or of constitutional monarchy. Whenever such efforts are made, it invariably happens that the existing despotisms of Europe endeavor to suppress the high and holy endeavor, and to subdue the people by whom it is made. The consequence is, that despotism has one common cause; and it results that the cause of civil and constitutional liberty has, in all countries, become one common cause—the common cause of mankind against despotism. Now, whatever nation leads the way at any time-at any efisis-in this contest for civil liberty, it be comes, as we perceive, the representative of all of that dastardly Conservatism in this country the nations of the earth. We once occupied which he has so successfully won-to come which shrinks from manifesting effective sym- that noble and interesting position, and we engaged the sympathies of civilized men throughout the world. No one can deny that now, or recently, Hungary took that position. We had a messenger on the spot ready to acknowledge her independence; and thus our own proceed-ings show that we, in common with the friendcivil liberty elsewhere, hailed Hungary as

such a representative of the nations of the earth.

Mr. President, it happens, in the providence of God, whenever a nation thus assumes to open this controversy for liberty in behalf of the na-tions of the earth, some one man more than another becomes identified with the struggling people, by his virtues, his wisdom, his valor, or his sufferings, until he eclipses all others who postpone a discussion of this question upon its may be associated with him, and comes to be merits at the present time. I shall advert, in he labors, or struggles, or suffers, and is regarded by mankind as the representative of that

nation and of that great cause.

The deliverance of Switzerland brings up the association at once of the name of William Tell; the struggle of Scotland for national independence calls up the name of Wallace; and, all over the world, no man ever hears the American Revolution spoken of, but it calls up before him the majestic form of Washington: so, Mr. President, it has happened that the name of Hungary calls up at once the one great and towering fame of the author, the hero, and the sufferer of the Hungarian revolution. How, then, shall we say that we do not know that Kossuth is worthy to be regarded as the friend and advocate of liberty in his own country? Shall we say that he does not merit the homage paid to him as the leader of the Hungarian revolution? Hungary herself has set the seal upon his merits, and has concluded that question; and it would be as unreasonable and absurd to listen to those who should disparage the fame and character of Washington, as to those who stand doubting and hesitating whether in honoring Kossuth we are really honoring the cause of liberty and the cause of

his unfortunate country.

But it is asked, why should the American people engage in paying these honors to Kossuth ?—for, granting all his merits, still he has done nothing for America. That is true, sir he never did anything for America—for we have reached that time when no man living out But the action of the Government has not stopbed here. In pursuance of its recommendaion, and at the instance of the President and
the Administration, the subject has been opened

of America can confer upon us a benefit. We are beyond the reach of beneficence, other than that which we may receive at the hands of the Creator and Preserver of all nations. But do

of America can confer upon us a benefit. We it may be, with Kossuth—what is to be the effect of it? It may look to something ulterior in the minds of some gentlemen, but it does not of itself indicate anything of that sort. It the Administration, the subject has been opened in this chamber. A debate has been opened upon the question submitted by the President. Under such circumstances, absolute silence would amount to nothing short of neglect; and neglect would be liable to be construed, in my poor judgment, into indignity. It is under these circumstances that this question comes before Congress; and I am sure that it is not the intention of the Senate that their treatment of Louis Kossuth should be capable of being construed into indignity. If such should be capable of being construed into indignity. If such should be capable of being construed into indignity. If such should be capable of the most dear to the sericum stances that their treatment of Louis Kossuth should be capable of being construed into indignity. If such should be the contraction of the sericum stances are contracted into indignity. If such should be the contraction of the sericum stances are contracted into indignity. If such should be the contraction of the sericum stances that their treatment of Louis Kossuth should be capable of this country to anything else; but it is simply an expression of what the whole people feel—of deep sympathy with Kossuth. They look upon him as the living representative of the great principle which has been opened us? Certainly not. We honor all those who confir benefits on us? Certainly not. We honor all those who confir benefits on us? Certainly not. We honor all those who confir benefits on us? Certainly not. We honor all those who is ? Certainly not. We honor all those who is ? Certainly not. We honor all those who is ? Certainly not. We honor all those who is? Certainly not. We honor all those who is? Certainly not. We honor all those who is? Certainly not. President anything does not bind the people of this country to anything else; but it is simply an expression of what the whole people feel—of deep sympathy with Kossuth. They look upon him as the living representative of the great principle which has been the idol of their aff

while we cannot pay it to the illustrious dead, still we can find fit recipients for the payment in the persons of the illustrious living. I will notice a single other objection, and then I will leave this resolution to its fate. It is the gained and stimulated, and in whose bosom we had enkindled the expectation of a warm, and generous, and cordial weldome. Such would be the effect upon him. The effect upon his country would be to subdue the feeling of affection and gratitude which the expression of sympathy in their misfortunes thus far has nawakened. The effect of it would be to disappoint the hopes and expectations of the friends. involve this nation in the calamities of a foreign war. I believe that while our mission is a mission of republicanism, yet that we shall best execute that mission by maintaining peace at home and peace with all mankind, and thus by the greatness of example, convince mankind of the excellence of the republican system. If cestablished and commended to their adoption.

Under such circumstances, I was not at liberty to consent to be understood as being willing to allow the arrival of Kossuth in the United States to pass unperiod and in the United states and in the commendate and in the section of the extended of the repulsion. I saw in this measure a step in advance towards the bloody field of contention on the shores of Europe, I, too, would hesitate before I would vote for it. But I see no advance towards any

opinion to put themselves right, I have endeavored to submit a proposition which would avoid the consequences which I have endeavored to indicate, and to bring this question before Congress in a form which it seemed to me all might agree to adopt.

Now, sir, I will say a word upon the form of the reception which is proposed by this joint the reception which is proposed by this joint the laws of nations do not forbid hospitality; the laws of nations do not forbid sympathy with the laws of nations do not forbid sympathy with the laws of nations do not forbid sympathy with the laws of nations do not forbid sympathy with the laws of nations do not forbid sympathy. with the exile—sympathy with the overthrown champion of freedom. The laws of nature call forth and demand that hospitality, and

those who flee from oppression and despair. This is all that we have done, and all that we propose to do. We have invited Kossuth here; have procured his release from captivity we have brought him here; and now we only propose to say to him, as he stands before us apon our own shore, as his eyes are directed wards us, and while we know that the eyes of the civilized world are fixed upon him and us, "Louis Kossuth, in the name and behalf of the American people, we bid you a cordial

Mr. HALE. Mr. President. I am desirous that this resolution should pass. I beg to assure the honorable Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. Foote,] who is now within my hearing, that I shall use words with no sectional, no hidden, or sinister meaning. I think I can use pure English, and use language in its general acceptation among the people of the United States, even as far south as civilization extends. [Laughter.] With no qualification at all, I am lesirous that the resolution should pass. I am so desirous, sir, that it should pass, that I will interpose no amendment, because the honorable Senator from Michigan, [Mr. Cass,] whom I have in my eye, thinks that, on a former occaion, an amendment which I proposed proved ery fatal to a resolution which he introduced But my own opinion is, that the amendment lost strength by being tacked to his resolution, [laughter,] and that, if I should have introluced it as an original measure, it would have

But sir I want to address myself to thos who think this resolution wants a precedent, and that the only precedent which is to be found is the reception which was given to the justly celebrated Lafayette. A very eloquent unlogy was passed upon the services of that in-dividual; and those services entitled him to the reception which was tendered him when he visited our shores as the champion of liberty, something more than a quarter of a century since. I want to take the case of Lafayette, and see if it is not a case in point. When the idea was first presented to the mind of Lafayette, Here are a transatlantic people—a wide ocean (an ocean wider then by a thousand miles, for all practical purposes, than it is now, since the introduction of steam navigation) be-tween him and this transatlantic people, who had risen with the energy of freemen to declare their rights, and were struggling for

musty records of the past to discover a prece-dent, how long would it have been before he would have thrown his life and all his energies into the struggle to assist in establishing freedom and the supremacy of human rights. Sir, it would have been a long time—many centuries would have passed away before such a precedent could have been found. He found none for the occasion, and the occasion made

Now, sir, one word with regard to precedents. What has been sthe history of the United States? Why, sir, instead of following precedents, they have been making precedents. This is their duty and their destiny. The honorable Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. Foote.] it seems to me, cannot hear the word precedent, which sounds so much like President, without

calling up some thoughts besides—
Mr. FOOTE, of Mississippi, (interposing.)
Really, now, the gentleman is thinking of the
time when he ran for the office of President! I thought it possible the idea would run in his mind, although the pronunciation is very dis-

Mr. HALE, (resuming.) Well, sir, in pronunciation I will yield to the honorable Sena nunciation I will yield to the honorable Sena-tor from Mississippi, but in nothing else, sir. I will go further. In dictionaries, in prece-dents, and in pronunciation, I will yield to him. but in nothing further, sir. And, sir, I think it is a little ungenerous for the honorable Sena-tor from Mississippi to come from the field here with his plumed cap and sword by his side, in the midst of the blushing honors with which his State has crowned him, with such a fling at my poor claims, which were so long

ago rejected. [Laughter.]
I ask him, sir, when all these honors are l ask him, sir, when all these honors are heaped upon him, if he cannot enjoy them so long as he sees "Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate?" I did hope better things of him. I had hoped that prosperity would have taught him a better lesson; but it seems that all such hopes are doomed to disappointment. I was saying, sir, that it has been the province of the United States not only to make Presidents, but precedents. I believe that the

Presidents, but precedents. I believe that the members of the Continental Congress assembled on the 4th of July, 1776, to make the declaration that they had a right to political freedom, acted entirely without precedent; a precedent was not to be found where a people had come together in peaceful conclave to throw off the restraints of that Government they had been taught to support, and to cease to render the obedience they had been accus-tomed to render to the mother country. But they thought not of precedents then. They were acting without a precedent, too, when—after the justice of that declaration had been vindicated by a seven years' war, and an ex-perience of a few years of peace had told them that peace itself might become valueless with-out something to render its blessings more per-manent and valuable—they assembled together in the Convention which framed our Constitution. They were acting entirely without a pre-cedent. I believe you may search the history of the world, and you cannot find an instance in which the representatives of a nation came together and formed a written constitution. It was the second in the history of the world, and the first was framed on board the Mayflower, when the Pilgrims were on their way from

Delithaven to this country.

These, sir, were all cases without precedent.
Why, sir, the history of this country has been without precedent; and we, so far from following in the footsteps of those nations which have gone before us, have been *making* instead of following precedents; and so, sir, I trust we

And now, sir, in respect to this resolution of sympathy and good feeling, and whatever else it may be, with Kossuth—what is to be the efwhole American people, and the most deeply impressed on the whole American heart. And, sir, it is because the people of this country look upon him as the representative of those princi-ples and the living imbodiment of those char-acteristics which are so dear to their own affections, that they desire, in the most solemn form in which the American people and the Congress of the United States can do it, to express all those feelings, by giving to this dis-tinguished individual, who has come to our shores, a public and honorable reception. And, sir, shall the representatives of the American people hesitate? Shall they pause? Shall they be afraid to give utterance, in the most solemn and effective manner in which they can do it, to the sentiments which the great body of the people entertain? Sir if we are to of the people entertain? Sir. if we are to pause before we give utterance to the sentiments of a resolution like this, from the fear that they will give offence to some of the other nations of the earth, we may as well abandon the tions of the earth, we may as well abandon the idea of carrying out the principles which are implanted in the Constitution under which we are organized to-day. I have no doubt, sir, that the very forms of that Constitution, and the sentiments which are there contained, gave offence, and that the Declaration of Independence gave offence, at the time of their promulgation. The same doctrines, when promulgated, give offence now; and they will continue to do so, until the latest period of time, to the despots both of the Old World and the New. They will never be pleasant and palatable; and if the people and Government of the United States pause, and reckon, and calculate how the expression and utterance of their sentiments may

[Mr. Hale] It would have received my vote if it had said less. It would have received it under any circumstances, if it had been pressed, and I should have endeavored to co-operate with and the laws of nations demand, hospitality to those that are offended, whenever the sentiments of liberty are uttered, that they are of ments of liberty are uttered, that they are of its because they will testify to the vical cause in Hungary, who, while yet young, and the laws of nations demand, hospitality to lence, and of respect, in the hearts of all the American people with them in their misfortunes—it is because of this that this resolution has provisos, qualifications, reservations, and exclusions and conclusions conclusions, it may be a very good special plea, but a very poor channel through which the sympathy of the American people is to find vent, utterance, and expression

No, sir, let the expression of these sentiment No, sir, let the expression of these seatments be broad, manly, open, unqualified, and direct. Let them be expressed in the plainest terms in which the English language is capable of presenting those sentiments and ideas which today are beating and vibrating in the hearts of the whole American results. the whole American people. Let the heavings and uprisings of the great American heart, which has been moved by the advent of this man to our shores as it has not been moved for more than a quarter of a century past, find a corresponding emotion here in the hearts of their representatives in the Senate and Congress assembled. Let us not be afraid that there is any danger of compromising ourselves, or of giving rise to any step which we may hereafter have need to retrace and retract. I trust, as has been said by a distinguished American statesman on another occasion, that he "takes no steps backward"—such will be the lan-guage of the American Senate and the American people, "that we take no step backward." They have planted their banners; they are unfurled; they have written their sentiments where the world may read them, and from whence, I trust in God, that all time cannot efface them. And let it never be told to the victims of oppression and despotism in the Old World, who are straining their eyes and look-World, who are straining their eyes and look-ing with anxious and throbbing hearts to see what the only free people on the face of the earth will do; let it never be said to them that we have hesitated, halted, failed, and furled our glorious banner, lest the characters that have en written there in the blood of our fathers by being repeated and re-uttered by us, might ive offence to those to whom the principles of berty are ever an offence. I trust that, instead of going back-instead of retrograding-in stead of pausing—we will make this resolution more full, more extended, and more explicit;

But as I am desrous that this resolution should pass, I will no trespass longer upon the attention of the Senate, but will give way, hoping that we may arrive at an early conclusion reference to this mitter.
Mr. FOOTE, of Mississippi. I do not rise for

the purpose of continuing this debate; and if any gentleman wishes to discuss the resolution, I shall give way to him. I intend simply to put myself right before the country in regard to this matter. I introduced the original resolution, as I have already stated, at the instance of the Secretary of Sate, and, as declared to me by him, and doubtess, truly, with the sanc-tion of the Administration itself, it being the tion of the Administration itself, it being the opinion of the President and his Cabinet, as clearly intimated in the last annual message, that it was the duty of Congress, under all the circumstances existing to provide a suitable reception for the distinguished personage whose character and actings have been the subject of such extended remarkson this occasion. I acted, I say again, at the instance of gentlemen of high official standing in Washington with high official standing in Washington, with whom, after full consultation, I had the good fortune to agree. I am willing to acknowleld on this subject, preliminary to introducing the original resolution, did any person undertake to intimate the propriety of so demeaning ourselves in the discussion of the question de signed to be presented to the Senate, as to avoid Russia. Had any such consideration been sug-gested to me, I should have felt not a little disatisfaction with the personage in whose brain an idea so ignoble had arisen. I understood the resolution before us to be simply a proposi-tion to afford to Governor Kossuth, on account of the high respect which we entertain for his public character, and the ardent sympathy which the freemen of this country must naturally feel for him and the noble cause with which he stands identified, a reception cordial and respectful on the part of the two Houses of Congress in the first instance, to be followed, as has been generally anticipated, by an additional reception on the part of the Executive of the Republic. I now regret exceedingly hav-ing withdrawn the original resolution, because it might perhaps have been acted upon before the present time. I withdrew it for reasons satisfactory to me, and which I stated in the hearing of the Senate. I supposed that it would be impossible for us, in consequence of the un-expected opposition presented in various quar-ters of this hall, to act on the resolution brought forward by me in time to accord to Governor Kossuth that reception which I had hoped all the members of this body would have supposed to be due to him. Since that period, some delay having occurred in New York with regard to his public reception there, other gentlemen here, friendly to the original object which I had in view, have thought proper to introduce propositions to provide for him a respectful and affectionate reception in the capital of the na-

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10. On the motion of Mr. SEWARD, the Senate

proceeded to the consideration of the special order, being his resolution of welcome to Kos-

Mr. SUMNER Mr. President, words are sometimes things; and I cannot disguise from myself that the resolution in honor of Louis Kossuth, now pending before the Senate, when finally passed, will be an act of no small significance in the history of our country. The Senator from Georgia [Mr. Berrien] was right when he said that it was no unmeaning compliment. Beyond its immediate welcome to an illustrious stranger, it will help to combine and direct the sentiments of our own people everywhere; it will inspire all in other lands who are engaged in the contest for freedom; it will challenge the disturbed attention of despots; and it will become a precedent whose importance will grow, in the thick-coming events of the future, with the growing might of the Republic. In this view, it becomes us to consider well what we do, and to understand the grounds of our con-

For myself, I am prepared to vote for it with-out amendment or condition of any kind, and on reasons which seem to me at once obvious and conclusive. In assigning these, indeed, I shall and conclusive. In assigning these, indeed, I shall be brief; and let me say that, novice as I am in this hall and in all legislative halls, nothing but my strong interest in the question as now presented, and a hope to say something directly upon it, could prompt me thus early to mingle in these debates.

The case seems to require a statement, rather these appropries.

The case seems to require a statement, rather than an argument. As I understand, the last Congress requested the President to authorize the employment of one of our public vessels to receive and convey Louis Kossuth to the United States. That honorable service was performed under the express direction of the President, and in pursuance of the vote of Congress, by one of the best-appointed ships of our navy—the steam-frigate Mississippi. Far away from our country, in foreign waters, in the currents of the Bosphorus, the Hungarian chief, passing from his Turkish exile, first pressed the deck of this gallant vessel—first came under the profrom his Turkish exile, first pressed the deck of this gallant vessel—first came under the protection of our national flag, and, for the first time in his life, rested beneath the ensign of an unquestioned Republic. From that moment he became our guest. The Republic—which, thus far, he had seen only in delighted dream or vision—was now his host; and though this relation was interrupted for a few weeks by his wise and brilliant visit to England, yet its duties and its pleasures as I confidently submit. ties and its pleasures, as I confidently submit, are not yet ended. The liberated exile is now at are not yet ended. The liberated exile is now at our gates. Sir, we cannot do things by halves; and the hospitality thus, under the auspices of Congress, begun, must, under the auspices of Congress, be continued. The hearts of the people are already open to receive him—Congress cannot turn its back upon him.

But I would join in this welcome, not merely because it is essential to complete and crown the work of the last Congress, but because our guest deserves it at our hands. The distinction is great I know; but is not so great as

pression and utterance of their sentiments may be made palatable and avoid giving offence to

to those that are offended, whenever the sentiments of liberty are uttered, that they are of value. It is because they will testify to the victims of oppression everywhere, that there is a feeling of sympathy, of commiseration, of condolence, and of respect, in the hearts of all the American people with them in their misfortunes—it is because of this that this resolution has any selection of the contest, and by a series of masterly labors, with voice and pen, in parliamentary debates and in the discussions of the press, breathed into his country the breath of life. He deserves into his country the breath of life. He deserves it by the great principles of true democracy which he caused to be recognised—representation of the people without distinction of rank or birth, and equality before the law. He deserves it by the trials he has undergone, in prison, and in exile. He deserves it by the precious that which he now so eloquently proclaims of the fraternity of nations.

As I regard his course I am filled with

As I regard his course, I am filled with

everence and awe. I see in him, more than in any other living man, the power which may be exerted by a single, earnest, honest soul, in a noble cause. In himself he is more than a whole cabinet—more than a whole army. I watch him in Hungary, while, like Carnot in France, he "organizes victory;" I follow him in exile to distant Asiatic Turkey, and there find him, with only a scanty band of attendants, in weakness and confinement, still the dread of despots; I sympathize with him in his harow relection. happy release; and now, as he comes more within the sphere of our immediate observation, amazement fills us all in the contempla-tion of his career, while he proceeds from land to land, from city to city, and, with words of matchless eloquence, seems at times the fiery sword of freedom, and then the trumpet of resprrection to the nations-Tuba mirum spar gens sonum. I know not how others have been impressed but I can call to mind no incident in history— no event of peace or war—certainly none of war—more strongly calculated—better adapt-ed—to touch and exalt the imagination and the heart than his recent visit to England. He landed on the southern coast, not far from where William of Normandy, nearly eight centuries ago, had landed; not far from where nineteen centuries ago, Julius Cæsar had land-ed also; but William, on the field of Hastings, and Cæsar, in his adventurous expedition, made no conquest comparable in grandeur to that achieved by the unarmed and unattended Hungarian. A multitudinous people, outnumber-ing far the armies of those earlier times, was ubdued by his wisdom and eloquence; and this exile, proceeding from place to place, traversing the country, at last, in the very heart of the kingdom, threw down the gauntlet of the

not give words to anything and everything that to the great principle of fidelity to t tells us that no Divinity is absent where dence is present—he forebore all suggestion of interference with the existing institutions of the country whose guest he was, recognising that vital principle of self-government. tue of which every State chooses for itself the institutions and rulers which it prefers.

Such a character thus grandly historic—a living Wallace—a living Tell—I had almost

said a living Washington—deserves our hom-age. Nor am I tempted to ask if there be any precedent for the resolution now under conderation. There is a time for all things; and the time has come for us to make a precedent in harmony with his unprecedented career. The occasion is fit; the hero is near; let us speak our welcome. It is true that, unlike Lafayette, he has never directly served our country; but I cannot admit that on this account he is less worthy. Like Lafayette, he periled life and all; like Lafayette, he has done penance in an Austrian dungeon; like Lafayette, he has served the cause of freedom : and whosoever serves this cause, wheresoever he may be, in whatever land, is entitled, according his works, to the gratitude of every true American bosom-of every true lover of

The resolution before us commends itself by its simplicity and completeness. In this respect it seems to me preferable to that of the Senator from Illinois; ner is it obnoxious to objections proced against that of the Senator from Mi sippi; nor do l see that it can give any just imbrage, in our diplomatic relations, even to the sensitive representative of Austria. Though we have the high authority of the President, in his message forstyling our guest "Governor"—
a title which seems to imply the de facto independence of Hungary at the very time when our
Government declined to acknowledge it—the
resolution avoids this difficulty, and speaks of him without title of any kind—simply as a private oitizen. As such, it offers him a welcome to the capital and to the country.

The comity of nations I respect. To the be-hests of the law of nations I profoundly bow. As in our domestic affairs, all acts are brought to the Constitution, as to a touchstone, so in our foreign affairs, all acts are brought to the touchstone of the law of nations—that supreme law, the world's collected will, which over arches the grand commonwealth of Christian States. What that forbids I forbear to do. But no text of this voluminous code, no commenta-ry, no gloss, can be found which forbids us to welcome any exile of freedom.

Looking at this resolution in its various lighte as a carrying out of the act of the last Congress as justly due to the exalted character of our guest, and as proper in form, and consistent with the law of nations-it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion in its favor. merits it would naturally be adopted. And

here I might stop.

But an appeal has been made against the resolution, on grounds which seem to me ex-traneous and irrelevant. It has been attempted to involve it with the critical question of it ed to involve it with the critical question of intervention by our country in European affairs;
and recent speeches in England and New York
have been adduced to show that such intervention is sought by our guest. It is sufficient to
say in reply to this suggestion, introduced by
the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Berrien] with
a skill which all might envy—and also by the
Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MILLER]—that no such intervention is promised or implied by the resolution. It does not appear on the face of the resolution; it is not in any way suggested by the resolution, directly or indirectly. It can only be found in the imagination, the anxieties, or the fears of Senators! It is a mere ghost. and not a reality. As such we may dismiss it. But I feel strongly on this point, and desire to go further. While thus warmly joining in this tribute

let me be understood as in no respect encouraging any idea of armed intervention in Europe ing any idea of armed intervention in European affairs. Such a system would open phials
of perplexities and ills, which I trust our county
will never be called to affront. In the wisdom of Washington we may find perpetual
counsel. Like Washington, in his eloquent
words to the Minister of the French Directory,
I would offer sympathy and God-speed to all,
in every land, who struggle for human rights;
but, sternly as Washington on another occasion, against every pressure, against all popular
appeals, against all solicitations, against all
blandishments, I would uphold with steady
hand the peaceful neutrality of the country.
Could I now approach our mighty guest, I
would say to him, with the respectful frankness
of a friend, "Be content with the outgushing
sympathy which you now so marvellously inspire everywhere throughout this wide-spread
land, and may it strengthen your soul! Trust
in God, in the inspiration of your cause, and in in God, in the inspiration of your cause, and in the Great Future, pregnant with freedom for all mankind. But respect our ideas, as we respect yours. Do not seek to reverse our traditional, established policy of peace. Do not, under the too plausible sophism of upholding non-intervention, provoke American intervention on distant European soil. Leave us to tread where Washington points the way."

ington points the way." And yet, with these convictions, Mr. President, And yet, with these convictions, Mr. President, which I now most sincerely express, I trust the Senator from Georgia [Mr. Berriers] will pardon me when I say I cannot join in his proposed amendment; and for this specific reason. It attaches to an act of courtesy and welcome a condition which, however just as an independent proposition, is most ungracious in such connexion. It is out of place, and everything out of place is, to a certain extent, offensive. If adopted, it would impair, if not destroy, the value of our act. A generous hospitality will not make terms or conditions with a guest; and such hospitality, I trust, Congress will tender to Louis Kossuth.

people are already open to receive him—Congress cannot turn its back upon him.

But I would join in this welcome, not merely because it is essential to complete and crown the work of the last Congress, but because our guest deserves it at our hands. The distinction is great, I know; but is not so great as

versity is voluntary. There is a sun-rise prayer-meeting daily, religious meetings during the week, and public worship on the Sabbath; yet no student is compelled to attend either. In Harvard, Yale, and other colleges, the students are required to attend daily morning prayers and other religious meetings, yet we doubt if these institutions can exhibit so large a number as one-sixth of their students men of niety as one-sixth of their students men of piety.

Charlottesville Jeffersonian

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION

## SENATE MONDAY, DECEMBER 8

Mr. Bright, of Indiana, said that time would be saved if the Senate would suspend the twen-ty-fifth rule, which required that committees shall be chosen by ballot. He therefore moved to suspend the rule. No objection being made, the motion was agreed to. Mr. B. then sent-up a list of all the committees, and moved that they be declared elected; which motion was agreed to.

The following is a list of the Standing Com

On Foreign Relations - Messrs. Mason Douglas, Norris, Mangum, and Underwood. On Finance—Hunter, Bright, Gwin, Pearce and Miller. On Commerce - Hamlin, Soulé, Dodge

Wisconsin, Davis, and Seward.

On Manufactures—Sebastian, Bayard, Stockton, Upham, James.

On Agriculture—Soulé. Walker, Atchison,

On Agriculture—Soulé. Walker, Atchison. Spruance, and Wade, On Military Affairs—Shields, Clemens, Borland, Dawson, and Jones of Tennessee.

On Militia—Honston, Dodge of Wisconsin, Borland, Morton, and Spruance.

On Naval Affairs—Gwin, Stockton, Mallory, Badger, and Spruance.

On Public Lands—Felch, Shields, Dodge of Iowa, Underwood, and Pratt

owa, Underwood, and Pratt.

On Private Land Claims - Downs, Whitcomb, Clemens, Davis, and Hale.

On Indian Affairs — Atchison, Sebastian,
Rusk, Bell, and Cooper.

On Claims—Brodhead, Whitcomb, Bayard,

Pratt, and Wade.

On Revolutionary Claims-Walker, Chase, James, Foote, and Sumner. Judiciary—Butler, Davis, Bradbury, Berrien,

Post Office and Post Roads—Rusk, Soulé, Hamlin, Upham, and Morton.

On Roads and Canals—Bright, Rhett, Douglas, Spruance, and Sumner.

On Pensions—Jones of Iowa, Borland, Stock-

ton, Foot of Vermont, and Geyer. Nocris, Bernes, and Clarke.

On Patents and Price Office-On Public Buildings-Whitcomb, Hunter,

and Clarke. On Printing-Borland, Hamlin, and Smith On Retrenchment-Bradbury, Bright, Felch, Mangum, and Fish.

On Territories-Douglas, Houston, Green, Cooper, and Jones of Tennessee.
On Engrossed Bills—Bayard, Mallory, and On Library-Pearce, Clemens, and Dodge

of lowa. On Enrolled Bills-Jones of Iowa, and Bad-To Audit and Control Contingent Expense Senate-Dodge of Iowa, Walker, and Bell.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9. Mr. Stockton presented a petition from citi-zens of New Jersey, asking the interposition of this Government in behalf of Mr. John S. Thrasher, lately condemned and imprisoned, af-ter a mock trial, by the authorities of Cuba. Mr. Stockton submitted a resolution calling

upon the President to communicate all the in formation in his possession touching the impris-onment of Mr. Thrusher; which was adopted. Mr. Hale introduced a joint resolution au-thorizing the President to interpose friendly offices with the French Republic in behalf of Abd-el-Kader.

Mr. Bright introduced his resolution to reinstate the 49th rule, so as to have Senate officers elected. A large number of bills were introduced and

Mr. Shields moved to postpone the resolution concerning the Compromise acts, and to take up the resolution extending a welcome to

Mr. Seward addressed the Senate at length

n support of the resolution.

Mr. Berrien opposed the resolution in a speech of an hour, the bearing of which can be best condensed by giving an amendment he proposed to be added to the resolution, which vas as follows:

"And be it further resolved, That the wel-

"And be it further resolved, That the welcome thus offered to Louis Kossuth be extended to his associate Hungarian exiles who have landed on our shores; but while welcoming these Hungarian patriots to an asylum in our country, and to the protection which our laws will afford to them, it is due to candor to declare that it is not the purpose of Congress to depart from the settled policy of this Government, which forbids all interference with the domestic concerns of other nations."

Mr. Hale and Mr. Foote replied, and in support of the resolution.

port of the resolution.

Mr. Miller advocated the resolution, but dis laimed any idea of going beyond a welcome o Kossuth, the exile. Mr. Sumner got the floor, and then the Sen-

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9.

THE Clerk read the list of Standing Committees which had been appointed by the Speaker, as follows:

Committee of Elections.—Messrs. David T. Disney, of O.; William S. Ashe, of N. C.; Christopher H. Williams, of Tenn.; William T. Hamilton, of Md.; Abraham H. Schermerhorn, of N. Y.; John S. Caskie, of Va.; Presley Ewing, of Ky.; George T. Davis of Mass.; and James Gamble, of Penn.

Committee of Ways and Means—Messrs. George S. Houston, of Ala.; George W. Jones, of Tenn.; Edward Stanly, of N. C.; Harry Hibbard, of N. H.; James Brooks, of N. Y.; J. Glancy Jones, of Penn.; William Appleton, of Mass.; Cyrus L. Dunham, of Ind.; and John S. Phelps, of Mo.

Committee of Claims—Messrs. John R. J. Daniel, of N. C.; Alfred P. Edgerton, of O.; Richard I. Bowie, of Md.; Origen S. Seymour, of Conn.: Robert Rantoul, jun., of Mass.; William A Sacket, of N. Y.; Carlton B. Curtis, of Pa.; William R. Smith, of Ala.; and Gilchrist Porter, of Mo.

Committee on Commerce-Messrs. David L. Seymour, of N. Y.: Andrew Johnson, of Tenn.; Alexander H. Stephens, of Ga.; Thomas J. D. Fuller, of Me.; James H. Duncan, of Mass.; John Robbins, jun., of Pa.: Louis St. Martin, of La.; William Aiken, of S. C.; and Thomas Y. Walsh, of Md.

Committee on Public Lands—Messrs. Willard P. Hall, of Mo.; W. R. W. Cobb, of Ala.;

Henry Bennett, of N. Y.; James L. Orr, of S. C.; Albert G. Watkins, of Tenn.; John D. Freeman, of Miss.; Henry D. Moore, of Pa.; Bernhart Henn, of Iowa; and Joseph W. Mc-Corkle, of Cal. Committee on the Post Office and Post

ads-Messrs. Edson B. Olds, of O.; Alexander G. Penn, of La.; Orin Fowler, of Mass.; Paulus Powell, of Va.; John L. Schoolcraft, of Paulus Powell, of Va.; John L. Schoolcraft, of N. Y.; Richardson Scurry, of Texas; Ben. Edwards Gray, of Ky.; Edward C. Marshall, of Cal.; and Lincoln Clark, of Iowa. Committee for the District of Columbia.— Messrs. Orlando B. Ficklin, of Ill.; Thomas H.

Averett, of Va.; David Outlaw, of N. C.; Edward Hammond, of Md.; Charles Allen, of Mass.; Junius Hillyer of Ga.; Hiram Bell, of O.; Alexander H. Buell, of N. Y.; and Daniel Mace, of Ind.

Committee on the Judiciary—Messrs. James
X. McLanahan, of Penn.; Richard K. Meade,
of Va.; Humphrey Marshall, of Ky.; Abraham
W. Venable, of N. C.; Isham G. Harris, of Tenn.; James Meacham, of Vt.; John Bragg, of Ala.; Samuel W. Parker, of Ind.; and Preston King, of N. Y.

Committee on Revolutionary Claims—Messrs.
Moses McDonald, of Me.; Richard H. Stanton, of Ky.; James F. Strother, of Va.; James M. Gaylord, of O.; Henry M. Fuller, of Pa.; Robert Rantoul, jun., of Mass.; Charles Murphy, of Ga.; Richard Yates, of Ill.; and Gilbert Dean, of N. Y.
Committee on Public Expenditures.—Mosers.
Andrew Johnson, of Tenn.; Charles Sweetar.

Committee on Public Expenditures.—Mossrs.
Andrew Johnson, of Tenn.; Charles Sweetser,
of O.; Marius Schoonmaker, of N. Y.; Nathan
T. Stratton, of N. J.; John Letcher, of Va.;
Thomas M. Howe, of Penn.; James T. Morehead, of N. C.; Leander Babcock, of N. Y.;
Thompson Campbell, of Ill.
Committee on Private Land Claims.—Messrs.

Timothy Jenkins, of N. Y.; George W. Thom on, of Va.; James Abererombie, of Ala.; Joh L. Dawson, of Penn.; Lewis D. Campbell, of O.; Benjamin D. Nabors, of Miss.; J. Aristide Landry, of La.; William W. Snow, of N. Y.; and John G. Miller, of Mo.

Committee on Manufactures—Messrs. Jam M. H. Beale, of Va.; Thomas B. Florence.

M. H. Beale, of Va., Labrias B. Florence, et Penn.; Benjamin Thompson, of Mass.; Chaun-cey F. Cleveland, of Conn.; Addison White, of Ky.; William Murray, of N. Y.; Jared Per-kins, of N. H.; Frederick W. Green, of O.; and Emanuel B. Hart, of N. Y.

Emanuel B. Hart, of N. Y.

Committee on Agriculture.—Messrs John G.
Floyd, of N. Y.; Fayette McMullen, of Va.;
Alfred Dockery, of N. C.; Joseph Cable, of O.; Charles Skelton, of N. J.; Samuel Brenton, of Ind.; Eben Newton, of O.; James Duane Doty, of Wis.; and Joan McNair, of Penn. Committee on Indian Affairs.—Messrs. Rob-ert W. Johnson, of Ark.; Volney E. Howard.

of Texas; George Briggs, of N. Y.; Joseph W. Jackson, of Ga.; James J. Conger, of Mich.; Graham N. Fitch, of Ind.; Joseph P. Caldwell, of N. C.; Edward C. Marshall, of Cal.; and Charles Durkes, of Wis.

Committee on Military Affairs—Messrs.

Armistead Burt, of S. C.; William H. Bissell, of Ill.: Meredith P. Gentry, of Tenn.: Willis A. Gorman, of Ia.; Alexander Evans, of Md.;

Ephraim K. Smart, of Me.; Thaddeus Stevens, of Penn.; Jno. A. Wilcox, of Miss.; and So mon G. Haven, of N. Y.

Committee on the Militia—Messrs. Charles
H. Peaslee, of N. H.; John H. Savage, of Tenn.;
George C. King, of R. I.; John G. Davis, of la.; George C. King, of R. I.; John G. Davis, of Ia.; William F. Hunter, of O.; Charles Andrews, of Me.; William Hebard, of Vt.; Elijah W. Chastain, of Ga.; and William T. Ward, of Ky.

On Naval Affairs—Messrs. Frederick B. Stanton, of Tenn.; Thomas S. Bocock, of Va.; Lorenzo Burrows, of N. Y.; Sampson W. Harris, of Ala.; E. Carrington Cabell, of Fa.; Thomas Ross, of Penn.; Ebenezer J. Penniman, of Mich.; Isaac Wildrick, of N. J.; and Robert Goodenow, of Me.

Committee on Foreign Affairs-Messrs. Thos. H. Bayly, of Va.; Joseph A. Woodward, of S. C.; Robert Toombs, of Ga.; William H. Polk of Tenn.; John L. Taylor, of O.; John Appleton, of Me.; Colin M. Ingersoll, of Conn. Joseph R. Chandler, of Penn.; and John Breckenridge, of Ky.

Committee on Territories-Messrs. William A. Richardson, of Ill.; Alexander R. Holladay. of Va.; Thomas L. Clingman, of N. C.; Jame W. Stone, of Ky.; Joshua R. Giddings, of O. David J. Bailey, of Ga.; Zeno Scudder, of Mass.; Charles E. Stuart, of Mich.; and James Lockhart, of Ia.

Mean John S. Millson, of Va.; Joseph Russell.

Townshend, of O.; George H. Brown, of N. J. William M. Churchwell, of Tenn.; Joseph S Cottman, of Md.; John Z. Goodrich, of Mass. and Willis Allen, of Ill.

Committee on Invalid Pensions—Isham G.

Harris, of Tenn.; Rodman M. Price, of N. J.;

Frederick S. Martin, of N. Y.; Richard S. Mo-

lony, of Ill.; Benj. C. Eastman, of Wis.; John Johnson. of O.; Joseph H. Kuhns, of Penn.; Daniel J. Jones, of N. Y.; and Charles Chapman, of Conn. Committee on Roads and Canals-Messrs.

John L. Robinson, of Ind.; Wm. F. Colcock, of S. C.; John W. Howe, of Penn.; John C. Mason, of Ky.; Benj. Stanton, of O.; Emanuel B. Hart, of N. Y.; Charles J. Faulkner, of Va.; Josiah Sutherland, jun., of N. Y.; and James Johnson Committee on Patents-Messrs. David K

Cartter, of O.; Milo M. Dimmick, of Penn.; William T. Ward, of Ky.; Benjamin B. Thurston, of R. I.; and Alex. White, of Ala.

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Mesers. Richard H. Stanton, of Ky.: Henry A. Edmundson, of Va.; Richard I. Bowie, of Md. James Duane Doty, of Wis.; and John H. Boyd

of N. Y. Committee on Revisal and Unfinished Business—Messrs. W. R. W. Cobb, of Ala.; Thomas N. How, jun., of N. Y.; Thomas M. Bibighaus, of Penn.; Geo. H. Busby, of O.; and Israel Washburn, jun., of Me.

Committee on Accounts—John C. Mason, of Ky.; John A. Morrison, of Penn.; John Weich of O.: Reuben Robie, of N. Y.:

of O.; Reuben Robie, of N. Y.; and James H. Duncan, of Mass.

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Del.; and Ahiman L. Miner, of Vt.

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On Expenses in the Treasury Department-Messrs. Benjamin B. Thurston, of R. I.; Thomas A. Hendricks, of Ind.; Henry S. Walbridge, of N. Y.; Galusha A. Grow, of Pa.; and John Allison, of Pa. Committee on Expenditures in the War

partment—Messrs. Milo M. Dimmick, of Pa; Willard Ives, of N. Y.; Obadiah Browne, of N. Y.; Andrew Parker, of Pa.; and Elijah W. Y.; Andrew Parker, of Pa.; and Elijah W. Chastain, of Ga.

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of Mass.; Augustus P. Hascall, of N. Y.; and John H. Savage, of Tenn.

Committee on Expenditures on the Public Buildings—Messrs. Thomas Bartlett, jun., of Va.; J. H. Hobart Haws, of N. Y.; David Outlaw, of N. C.; William M. Churchwell, of Tenn.; John L. Taylor, of O.

Rev. Mr. Morgan was elected Chaplain of the House on the fourth ballot, by a vote of 103 to 83 for Mr. Gurley; after which, the House

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Dec. 11—34

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